

A D V I C E
TO A NEWLY
ELECTED MEMBER
OF
P A R L I A M E N T:

W I T H
OBSERVATIONS on the LEGISLATIVE CON-
STITUTION, and the CONTRACT relating
thereto, between the REPRESENTATIVES
of the PEOPLE in PARLIAMENT and their
CONSTITUENTS.

By a Friend to the P U B L I C K.

D U B L I N:

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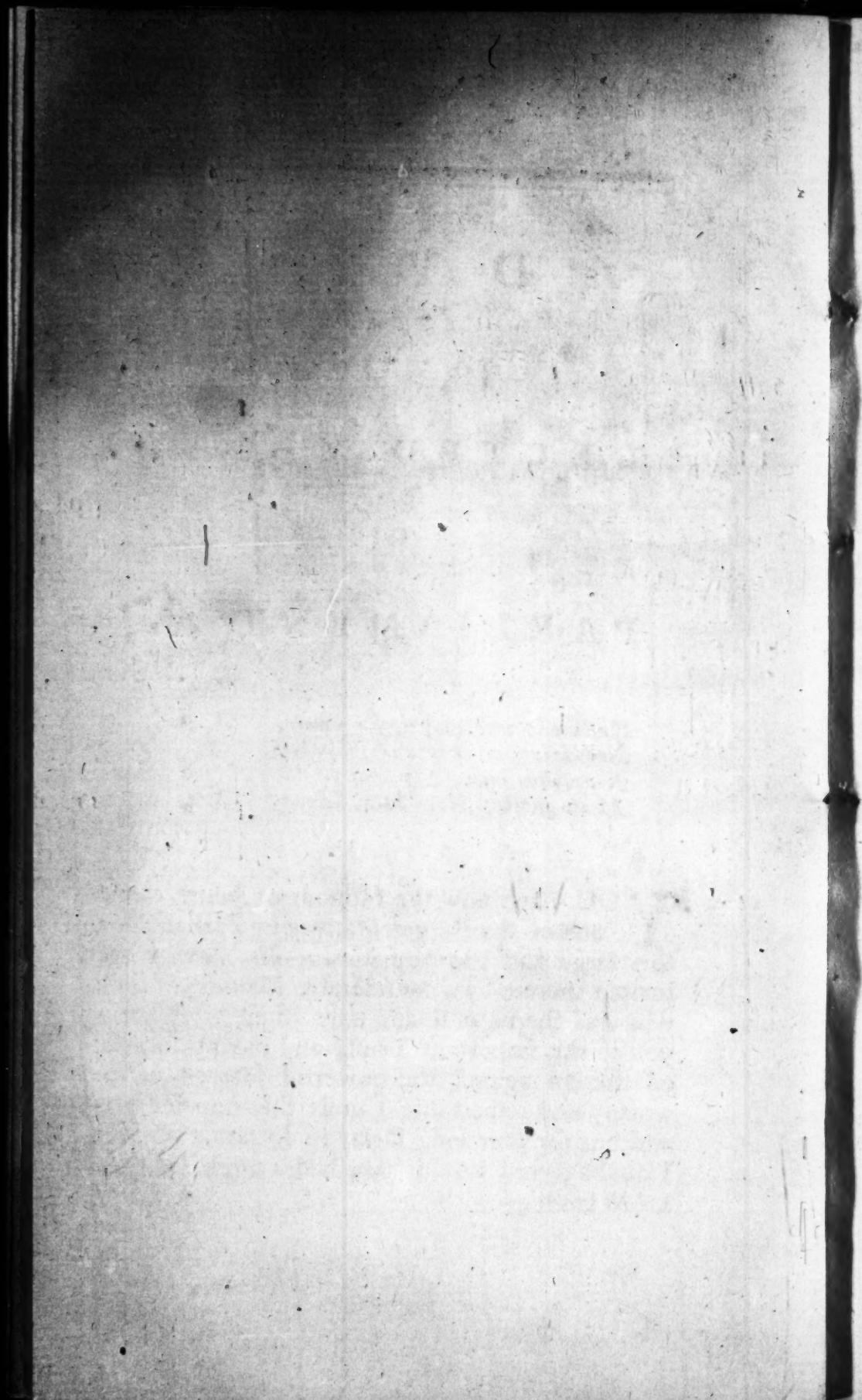
To the PRINTER.

SIR,

INFLAMED at the Treatment which has been as audaciously as unjustly offered to a most respectable and exalted Character, the first of *Ireland's Friends*, in some of the daily public Vehicles of Falsehood and Scandal, merely for declaring his Opinion and Judgment in that high Assembly, in which he also is the first, although approved of by a Majority almost equal to an Unanimity, I send you the inclosed Work to publish in a Pamphlet.

Dublin, March
8th, 1780.

THE AUTHOR,



A D V I C E
 TO A NEWLY
 E L E C T E D M E M B E R
 O F
 P A R L I A M E N T, &c.

*Justum & tenacem propositi virum,
 Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
 Non vultus instantis tyranni
 Mente quatit solida. Hor. Lib. 3, O>st. 3.*

Y
OU have now the Honour of being elected
one of the Representatives in Parliament of
this large and growing Metropolis, having been
invited thereto by a considerable Majority of those,
who had the natural and true Right of soliciting
you to this important Trust, and having succeed-
ed therein against the powerful Interest of that
worthy and respectable Family that opposed you,
and but for your long Delay in declaring yourself,
I doubt if you would have had a single Competi-
tor to contend with.

Give

Give me Leave therefore, again to repeat, that however superior you are in Dignity, Family, and Power, it is an Honour to you, and that this Honour is not paid to *you* only, but on Account of those illustrious Ancestors, those Champions of Liberty and true Patriotism, from whom you have the Blessing of being a Descendant, and upon whose Security, (as a late French Author has said,) “ a Letter of Credit is given you by “ your Country, in the Confidence, that, at a “ proper Period of Life, you will acquit your- “ self with Honour to those who stand engaged “ for you.”

The Eyes of all will therefore be on you, and very great their Expectations will be; to answer which, will be an arduous Task; wherefore, and as your noble Father, the first and oldest Peer in the Realm, may yet live many Years, and you remain a Commoner until he shall be called hence, when you are afterwards to fill an higher Department in the State, I shall as one of your Constituents presume to offer some Hints which are meant well, and if attended to, may, (I will so far flatter myself) be at least of no Prejudice to you.

You have now gone through a Course of Studies in the Literary Way, and are upon your Travels for further Improvement, both which are most necessary for the polishing of a Gentleman; but this is not enough, you must be useful also, and for this Purpose, the Field is very large, and many are the Labours you are to encounter, among which, is the Study of Universal History, *which is the Study of Mankind.*

And

And then, the Constitution not only of your own Country, but of England also, and wherein they differ, as also the Agriculture, Trade, Commerce and Manufactures of both, as it may be frequently necessary to draw a comparative view of them; these, their respective Histories may in some measure help you to a knowlege of, but not sufficiently. (a).

The Knowledge also of the Civil Government of your Country, and the Laws relating thereto, will be most necessary; for which Purpose, you must read and study the original Sources from whence these are derived: The civil Law of the Romans, which, (we may say) is the Law of the World; the Law of Nature and Nations, and the Feudal Law; without all which, and especially the Knowledge of the latter, a Senator of these our Kingdoms will be for ever wandering in the Dark, for ever plunged in Ignorance, Error, and Confusion.

The Books on these Subjects are many, but a few select ones will be sufficient; such as Justinian's Institutes, otherwise called the Digest, Sanderson, Grotius and Puffendorf, but chiefly Tully's Offices, Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws; with Burlamaqui's Principles of natural Law, the several Treatises on the Feudal Tenures by Gilbert, Wright and Dalrymple. And lastly, though not least worthy, Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England.

As for Trade and Commerce, History will also in some Sort assist you in the Knowledge of these, but

(a) *Est senatori necessarium nosse reipublicam: idque late patet:—genushoc omne Scientiae, diligentiae, memoris est Sine quo, paratus esse Senator nullo pacto potest.* Cicero *De leg.* 3. 18.

but there are some excellent Treatises written thereon, which you should read most carefully, the Authors are Decker, Tucker, Gee, Child, Postlethwaite, &c.

The Law and Custom of Parliament, with the Rules and Orders of the House of which you are a Member, will also be a most necessary Knowledge; the first you may learn from a Treatise intitled **LEX PARLIAMENTARIA**; the latter, from the Journals of the House.

Instructed then, as I have here mentioned, the next Thing to be considered is, your Conduct in the House as a Member of the Senate.

The Powers of Oratory are so alluring, so extremely enchanting, that whilst Ambition and the Love of Fame inspire the human Soul, it is not to be wondered at, that Eloquence should be so earnestly pursued; but strip it of its Plumage, of all its pompous, dazzling, outside Ornaments, and judge of it then.

To say, (as has been said) that a professed Orator is but another Name for an arrant Deceiver, might be carrying it too far, and yet the most famous Orators of the Ancients were almost all deceivers; and whether some of the Moderns have not been behind hand with them in Deceit, let British Annals tell. "To employ" (as Cicero says) "our Skill, rather to promote our own Reputation and Ap- plause, than to serve the real Interest of Truth and Virtue; to propose in an arrogant Man- ner; to teach how a bad Cause might be managed so as to get the better of a good one, that is, to undertake to charm the Ears

“ Ears and strike the passions of the Hearers
 “ in so powerful a Manner by sophistical Rea-
 “ soning, Turns of wit, and fine Language, as
 “ to impose Falshoods upon them for Truths,
 “ is not only disingenuous in itself, but most
 “ dangerous, nay most mischievous to Society.”

And Quintilian in his Advice to those who are to speak in public, says thus, “ a prudent Man is not so desirous to say a great deal, as to speak to the Purpose, and therefore will make Choice of proper Arguments, and such only as have a direct Tendency to confirm, or illustrate his subject; for this Purpose, it is necessary, that he should first gain a thorough Knowledge of his Subject, and proper Words will not be wanting to convey his Ideas.”

Ignorantia prælonga est, Scientia brevis.

The first Species of Oratory I have here mentioned, “ though it may split the ears of the groundlings,” cannot but make the judicious grieve; and be assured, that one Sentence of Information conveyed in a plain and simple Eloquence, than which, there is not any more difficult to acquire, will be of more real Utility, than Discourses of Hours in a pompous, turgid and obscure Rotation of Periods, prepared for the Purpose; nay, although they were every one of them essenced as if they had passed through an Alembic, they will be regarded but as the Lesson of a Schoolboy, or “ as the Tale of an Ideot, full of Sound and Fury, signifying nothing.”

Nor is the easy, flowing, elegant, or florid Species of Oratory without Matter, (as is generally the Case,) the least valuable, being of course, of little Utility.

Cicero in his DE ORATORE, Dial. 1. ch. 11. says thus, " the Efficacy of Eloquence can never be, but when the orator is a complete Master of his Subject," and unquestionably such a Knowledge with a clear Head, will make a Man eloquent enough, though he should never read a Sentence upon the Art of Oratory.

Again, Dial. 3. ch. 25, " The most eligible Kind of Speaking" (says he,) " is that which is the most interesting to the Hearer, and gives him the greatest Delight, but a Delight without Satiety."

I remember, some Years ago, sitting in a certain Assembly, when one of our first-rate Speakers had finished his Oration, a Person who sat next to me, and who was in the highest Ecstasy, asked my Friend who sat on the other Side of me, a plain, sensible, honest country Gentleman, if ever he had heard any Thing like it? To which he soberly replied, " It may be very fine for what I know." And yet this Orator was also of the first Reputation in the Senate of another Kingdom.

Nor yet conceive, that I would not wish to have the Passions moved upon some Occasions, but then they must be grand, important, and justifiable withal; the Preservation of your Country, or the Defence of its Constitution.

*Nec Deus interfit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit.*

HOR.

But on Matters of Civil Polity, in the Formation of Laws, or in the Relation of Facts; in

in these, I say, to introduce the extraordinary and the marvellous, the Beauty of Figures, the Splendor of Metaphors, the Lustre of Thoughts, and the Harmony of Numbers and Cadence, is as absurd and ridiculous as it would be, to see a sage old Man, all over adorned with the gaudy Pageantry of Plumes and Trappings.

The next Thing I will be free to recommend to you, is Modesty ; it is so amiable in a Speaker, and has so powerful an Effect upon an Audience, that the greatest Masters of Eloquence have affected it ; how much more amiable must it then be, when it is the “*Blush of youthful Reason and Virtue?*” When it manifestly proceeds from a real Diffidence of one’s own Abilities, and an awe and Respect to the Assembly, than which, there is not any Thing that more possesses an Audience in Favour of the Speaker? No Body envies the Man, who does not appear to be too much pleased with himself.

To see a young Man starting up on every Occasion, full of himself and swelling with Opinion, dictating as it were to age and experience, is, (if I may use the Expression) a most hurting Sight, and his Fate will be, like the babling Cur of the Pack, whose Yelping ever passes unheeded, although it should happen, that he hath hit aright.

Scolding and reviling with bitter, personal, Invective and Obloquy, is a Mode of Oratory that hath of late years much prevailed in a neighbouring Nation ; above all Things shun it ; the more a Man excels in it, the greater will be his Reproach ; it is a Disgrace to Humanity : I hope it will never gain Ground in this King-

dom, where personal Insults are so quickly resent-ed, or we may not need any Act for the Li-mitation of Parliament. Should any of these Orators ever in this Way attack you Sir, im-mediately call on the President of the Assem-bly to relieve you, it is his Duty to do so; and should he not be regarded, he is armed with a suffi-cient Authority to enforce Obedience; he is to call the Transgressor to Order, (if he should not be so called on by a Member of the House) and if he still persists to disturb the Assembly, he is to call him to the Bar of the House, and upon the House to support the Chair; to support Order, to support their own Dignity; and the Punishment may be, Censure, Commitment, nay, even Ex-pulsion; where it not for such coercive Powers, whilst there are the least Remains among any of us of the ferocious Spirit of our Northern Ancestors, as yet unsoftened and untamed by breeding, there might be but few Assemblies where we should meet with more Decency or Decorum, than in one of our Bear Gardens, or at Billingsgate. For several Instances of the Punishments upon such Occasions, see the afore-said *Law and Customs of Parliament*.

But should your Antagonist be permitted to proceed, do you that instant quit the Assembly, and not sit a fixed Figure for Malignity and Ran-cour to discharge their Venom on; nor conceive that in so doing, your Resolution will be suspect-ed; quite the contrary, for were you to stay, and return the Abuse, although you should exceed in it, and that it were in Language never so GREAT (as it is termed,) pray, where would be the Ho-nour? where the Profit? why, you may have gained the Applause of the ill-natured and the malevolent,

malevolent, or of the ever factious levelling Mob.

To resent it personally on the Spot, you cannot; to do it afterwards in cool Blood, is a dreadful Issue even to the bravest; to him, that would undaunted face an Army; and yet to bear it patiently, might either induce a Belief of a Consciousness in you of having deserved the Abuse, or call your Spirit in Question, and be the means of inviting eternal Insults from all that should afterwards be base enough to offer them. Ought Humanity then, or even Decency suffer a man to be wantonly, and at the Will and Pleasure of another, laid under such distressing and perplexing Difficulties, as any, even the least of those I have here mentioned? And is not every Member of the Assembly indispensably bound to contribute all in his Power to prevent them? But if unguardedly permitted, ought not the Matter of Abuse be forthwith inquired into? The Accuser called on to make good his Allegations, and the Accused to stand to his Defence? and if Facts should be proved which merited such Treatment, then let the House, not any Individual punish; if not proved, let the Punishment fall on the Accuser. It must be, that either one or the other will not be fit to remain a Member of that august Assembly.

But do not imagine from what I have here said, that I think that wicked Men, or their bad Measures are not to be exposed or reproved, far be it from my Thoughts; but do it as a Man of Sense and Virtue, and as a Gentleman ought to do it, and not as if it were the Result of Faction, Spleen, or Malignity,

Avoid

Avoid also most carefully, the least Attempt towards little gibing Wit in the House; to gain the smallest Degree of Credit in this Way, would be the dearest Purchase you could make; it would be at the Expence of all Opinion, nor would you be heeded seriously, though you should be serious; a common Joker is a most contemptible Character, and to see an Assembly that ought to be exalted in Wisdom, and Sedate in Behaviour, having the whole Concerns of a Nation to transact, in a Roar of Laughter, be the Cause what it may, (but in Truth no Cause can justify it) is, I should think as melancholy a Sight, as could be possibly exhibited.

*Bellus homo et magnus vis idem Cotta videri,
Sed qui bellus homo est Cotta, pusillus homo est.*

MARTIAL.

And lastly now, upon this subject of Speaking in the House, let it be your determined Resolution never to Speak upon any Matter of which you are not a Master; as to speak well thereon would be impossible, unless you were inspired. It is true, from your high Quality and large Fortune, you stand on an advanced Ground, to which abundantly the Majority of Society are disposed to look up at with Admiration, if the Possessors thereof are ever so little endowed with Abilities: and, as says the wise Son of Sirach,
 " When the Rich Man speaketh, every man
 " holdeth his Tongue, and look what he faith,
 " they extol it to the Clouds; but if the Poor
 " Man speak, they say, What fellow is this? and
 " if he stumble, they will help to overthrow
 " him." Eccle, ch. xiii. v. 23. But this could neither be any real advantage or honour to you; the incense, or homage, which may be

be thus paid to you for a time cannot last long, if not supported by yourself, and the Delusion must vanish.

Then there is a Commendation too often bestowed on such young men, should they in any the least degree acquit themselves in Publick; as thus, "Why, it was pretty well for a Lord's Son." Now, can there be a more severe Reproach or Indignity offered? Are they not from their Cradles furnished with every means to give them a Superiority above all others who cannot purchase or acquire those means; as Education, Company, Conversation, &c. &c.? A Sorry sort of negative Praise; in other words, "That he has made but little Use of the very advantageous Opportunities he had." On the other hand, should you well acquit yourself, and that Envy should say, in its ungenerous phrase, "Who thanks him," you would be honoured thereby, as it would manifest that you had seized and used those Opportunities well.

There is yet another Matter, and of no less Importance than any I have yet mentioned, which is your Conduct upon Petitions against undue Elections; it is a common Expression, "that a Committee of Elections is a Committee of Affections."—If this be so, where is then our Constitution? If after a Person hath been duly elected, and perhaps at great Expence, he shall be turned out by a Majority of Votes in the House, in Consequence of a superior Interest that his Competitor may have from his Connections there, of what avail will free Electors be? Therefore, bear this also ever in your Mind, that if you shall at any Time be applied to for your Interest upon such an Occasion, or very much pressed to attend the Committee,

Committee, it is the highest Affront can be offered; for every Member is as much a Judge in the Legislature, as any Judge upon any Bench in the inferior Courts of Justice is of the Cause depending before him, and it is your Duty to attend most constantly, as a Centinel to watch for your Country *.

Now, we are upon the Subject of Elections, there is a Term which hath of late Years been much hackneyed upon all such Contests as these; a Word, which as it hath been used by both Parties against each other, and as a Word of War, it is plain hath no precise or fixed Idea annexed to it, this Word is INDEPENDENT. Now, if it means a Person who, uninfluenced by Interest, unawed by Power, and unbiased by Prejudice, gives his Vote upon the Election of a Candidate according to the Dictates of a well informed Mind, it is a noble Character. But if an INDEPENDENT signifies a Person of a perturbed, restless Spirit, yoked invincibly under the Notion of Freedom, to a furious firebrand Party, fraught with Principles of eternal Opposition and Resistance, subversive of all Government and Order, it is then an infernal Idea. — But this Matter can only be adjusted by considering the Manners and Principles of the Persons, who on each Side are most busy and most zealous on these Occasions, (for such there always are.) Of the first of these Characters, I hope there were Numbers in the late Election on both sides, of the latter, none on either.

That

* An Act hath been since made, 11. Geo. 3. c. 12. made perpetual by 13. & 14. ditto, c. 15. "To regulate trials of controverted Elections." Whether it has remedied all the Evils against which it was pointed, is a matter much doubted.

That this City hath of late years, and still is most unfortunately divided, and of course replete with Animosities, is a Matter, than which there is not any Thing more certain, and the Alteration that hath been lately made in its Constitution with a View to remedy these Evils, hath encreased them many Degrees ; who was or were the first Promoter or Promoters of them, it would be needless here to mention, it is in Truth no Secret, if they have any Virtue, I will leave them to the Punishment in their own Breasts : If they have not, a million to one, they will meet it from those they have seduced, deluded, or inflamed, it has seldom been otherwise. Other Mischiefs, and no inconsiderable ones which have arisen from the Alteration in the City Constitution, are, that from the frequent Elections among themselves, which have been the Consequences of it, a Spirit of Declamation, is every Day encreasing, Parties and Factions forming, Tavern-Meetings and expensive Revellings almost every Night, among the Traders and Artificers, to the absolute mispending of Time, and Neglect of their Affairs and Busines, which if not speedily corrected, must most assuredly be ever productive, of both Fraud and Bankruptcy, and great Distress to Families. A parcel of beggarly Brawlers would be a sorry substitute of skilful, wealthy Merchants, Traders, and Mechanics.

But then, the many Schemes and various Views and Expectations of those different Parties, may, if you are not much upon your Guard, make your Seat a Seat of Thorns, a Seat of eternal Disquiet ; let it therefore be your constant Rule, to hear all Sides, and then let Judgment hold the Scale.

According to the propogated Notions and Doctrine of some Arch incendiaries among us, no Member is to presume to Vote, but even as the most inferior of the People shall Direct or Dictate; or if he should, he is to make his Submission, and to crave their Forgiveness, should any factious Demagogue, or Leader of the Rabble, declare in an anonymous Letter, or under a fictitious Name, in any of the public factious Vehicles of Scandal think fit to demand it; which Madness, or Folly, as it has by some been meanly submitted to, it were no wonder, if not any Law could restrain their enormous expectations and Insolence. Now, should it ever be your Fate, my Lord, to meet with that *Ardor civium prava Jubentium*, that *Vultus instantis tyranni*, in the Motto hereto prefixed for the purpose, be bold to Act as I have ventured to recommend to you, what though they raged at your Gates; and for so doing should any of these partial petty Tyrants, with their usual, vulgar, scurrilous Language, attempt to abuse you in any of their public *partial* Papers, never deign to answer one of them; if the charge be False, let your Conduct prove it so; if you have been Mistaken, (as the Best and Wildest may Err) it is better acquiesce in Silence, than attempt to Justify: in the first Case, it will quickly die away, and Scandal of this Sort is so Common, and so False, that it has lost all Credit and Force, and especially where it is Anonymous; besides, it may be thought, you have not seen it, or that, from a Consciousness of Innocence, you hold it in Contempt, which may turn the fickle Vulgar in your favour, and Disappoint the malicious Propagator thereof; whereas, the noticing it, will keep it alive, and afford them Entertainment at the Disturbance of your Peace, (as is the case with some of the most respectable Characters). There is

is hardly one of human kind, who has not some Foible or some Weakness, which however innocent, the Malevolent and Sarcastic may, with a very small portion of low Wit, expose and turn into Ridicule; and to attempt Reasoning with them is like hewing a block with a Razor; or if they were capable of it, their Prejudices render them deaf as the Adder.

It were much to be wished, that the present Constitution of the City you now Represent were revised, and carefully considered by the judicious and dispassionate, and so rectified and settled, as to put a Stop to the Mischiefs I have here mentioned, and establish Peace and Harmony, Sobriety and Industry, and a proper Demeanour of every Man in his Calling. Your Connections and your Interest, as well on this, as on the other Side of the Water, if not superior, must be allowed on all Hands, to be at least equal to any whatsoever. Effect then this good Work, and you will merit a monumental Statue in eternal Remembrance of the Deed. At present, every Stranger who visits it, may justly think we have no Police,

As for the giving of Money, where it is for the carrying on of publick Works, the Improvement of Agriculture *espeially*; Manufactures and Arts, be not sparing of it; it will be spent among us, and cannot be better disposed of; but you cannot be too strict in your Enquiries as to the Application of it, and the Prevention of Jobs, be they who they will, that may be so abandoned as to be concerned therein.——Nor be in the least Apprehensive of any Danger from a moderate national Debt, it must be, as Things are circumstanced at present, the Security of the State;

the Convenience and Advantage of Individuals; and the Benefit of Commerce and Trade.

Was there a Law to enable Tenants for Life to make long Leases of our waste Lands, of which above seven Millions of Acres are improveable, it would be quickly set about—— What an Acquisiton of Population, Strength and Wealth would this Produce ?

In our Constitution, the Prerogatives of our Kings were given them by the People for the Advantage of the whole, so that these, and the Rights of the People are equally sacred, nor can either be infringed without endangering the whole. King Charles the I. made this Answer to the *Petition of Right*, “ That the Peoples Liberties “ strengthen the King’s Prerogative, and the “ King’s Prerogative is to defend the Peoples “ Liberties :” Not but that there are some of these Prerogatives that are never to be exerted but in Matters of the highest Importance, and most urgent Necessity.

Now, the granting of Pensions, is, and has been Time immemorial, a Prerogative of the Crown to enable it to reward Merit, and provide for faithful Servants to their Country, where their finances, by Accident or Misfortune are scanty, even though they should be Members of the Legislature. It is for its Honour and Dignity, and by the wisdom of our Ancestors thought fit it should be so.—— It is true, it might be, and perhaps has been at Times abused, but that cannot in Reason be an Argument against the Right and Legality of granting them, both which have been confirmed by many Acts of Parliament, and are confirmed every Sessions by the Tax they are charged

charged with, as our Journals will shew; and have not the Commons a sufficient Power to prevent the misapplication of publick Money, by stopping the Supplies? But as for the granting of Pensions, but especially Employments or Offices for Lives or Years, how great a Mischief this may be to future Merit, and how considerably it may weaken the Honour, Dignity, and Authority of the present, but much more a successor Prince, however it may answer the present or immediate purpose, are Matters which I shall not attempt to discuss; however, I will venture to wish that all of them, especially Employments or Offices, were to be during Pleasure only, or in such other Manner, as upon mature Deliberation should be judged the least injurious to the Crown and the Subject. Also the removal of great Commoners, who have Burroughs to the Upper House, though it may gain the Voices of those they return into the Lower House for a Time, will, in the End, cut against the very Purpose it was designed to Promote; the Gratitude of these Dignified Persons has too often very quickly vanished, and they have turned the most obstinate and inveterate Opponents.

It may be also true, (as it is said,) that a pensioned Member cannot be disinterested, and that he will never value how much of the publick Money is given, who is afterwards to share it; but surely, it is not fair, to conclude absolutely, that the receiving of a Pension has so depraved the Heart of a Man, that for so small a Consideration he would either contribute towards, or stand by, an idle or unconcerned Spectator of the Wreck of his Country; however, let it be your Busines to watch, and if you find Reason, it then will be your Duty to join in every necessary Measure of *representing* and *addressing*; we have

have a good and gracious Sovereign, who has given us the strongest Earnest that he will not give us Cause of *complaining*. But if Government should ever be compelled, from either a wanton or self-interested Opposition, in order to carry on the necessary Business of the State, and without which, it cannot exist, to buy off those who are most ready to be sold, and who, for the very Purpose, are ever in Array against them, where then ought the Blame to lie?

Wherever real Grievances are, there let the whole of your Attention be directed, but to be discontented without Cause, to contend for Contention sake only, or to raise up Phantoms for yourself to combat in order to inflame, and to attempt the Alteration of such Things as have been established, in such a Manner as that you cannot but know, there is no Chance of altering them, or if we could, perhaps the Alteration of some of them would not be to our Advantage; to roll the Stone of Sisyphus, or like the Viper gnaw the File, these things may win you the Applause of the ever restless, fickle Vulgar, but it will be at the Expence of all Credit for ever, with the sober, the honest and the judicious. They are beneath the Dignity of a Senator; of a Man; and are the strongest Proof of Corruption of Heart.---The real Love of our Country stands foremost in the Rank of human Virtues; but what Punishment is not due to that Wretch, who from selfish Views, and for his own private Interest should under the Shew and Semblance of Patriotism, fire with groundless Fears and Jealousies the poor deluded People, nor rest until he had roused them even to the outrageous Disturbance of Society?

Fleatere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo.

Besides,

Besides, it is a real Injury to the Publick, as by so doing, that Portion of Time is ingrossed thereby, which might be otherwise employed in useful Busineses, not only in the several Matters I have mentioned before, but also in the Encouragement of the Fisheries ; in preventing the abuse of Spirituous Liquors, and the Mischiefs of Brewers, which would save Seventy Thousand Pounds a year in the Kingdom, prevent Tumults, and preserve the Lives of Thousands, in providing against the Scarcity of Corn, by establishing publick Granaries, or in such other Manner as shall be thought most prudent ; as also for the Protection of the Kingdom, by Fortifications and an established Militia, (which is undoubtedly its true and best Defence,) if we have Protestants sufficient to spare for the Purpose ; or otherwise, by a proper and secure Augmentation of Forces, to be ever dependant, (as they now are,) for their Pay upon the People ; in effecting one single Colliery, and thereby preventing the Loss of thousands upon thousands of pounds to the Nation ; in erecting Buildings for the preservation of the publick Records, the Buildings in which they are now kept, and especially the Rolls Office, the most important of all, being in such a Situation, as to cause every Man who has any Property, or the least Degree of Humanity, to shudder at the very Thought of ; (a) in remediying the most distressing Grievances of the Laws, not only in their Proceedings, but their unbounded Expence and endless Delays, with the impositions, Exactions, and Insolence of Office. As also in obtaining a *National Bank*, without which it is logically impossible this Kingdom ever can flourish.

Your

(a) Such Offices are now Building.

Your Property is so great that it is not likely you will ever grace the Pension List ; but at the same Time let me beseech you not to decline an honourable Employment, or Office of Trust in the State, if such, (as there is little doubt but it will be the Case,) should be proposed to you ; Persons of your Consequence (as I have said before) are the most fit to fill such Posts, and the Safety of both King and Country depend upon its being so ; besides, without the Assistance of the Knowledge, and immediate Information of these Officers, upon the frequent Occasions of calling on them in the House, the Business of Parliament would be exceedingly tedious ; and imagine not, that the old Saying, to wit, " That " a Place at Court is a continual Bribe," can ever be applied to you, it is apposite only to the most abandoned Knaves, who have no Credit, or good Name to forfeit

If the Act for the Limitation of Parliaments, be of such high Import to this Kingdom that (as has been urged,) it could not be said we had a Constitution without it, and will be of such immense Advantage (as is conceived,) to the Protestant Interest, in the Encrease of Conformists among the lower People, what grateful Thanks are due to our most gracious, most indulgent Sovereign for his Assent to it ? But at the same Time, let it be your Care to prevent, as muchas may be, the ill Effects that may otherwise of Course arise from such a frequency of Elections, and especially in this, (I may say,) poor Kingdom, as yet but in its Infancy of thriving, and where a Disposition to Labour and Industry is not altogether as vigorous as it is to be wished it was, or all the hoped for good Effects of this most excellent Law, may be prevented or defeated.

feated. Some Writers on Government have mentioned Balloting as the most effectual Means of preventing all the Evils of Elections in general. Suppose then, that not only the Representatives for Counties and Boroughs were to be chosen by Ballot, but also all others whatsoever, in every Case, where Elections are to be, from the highest to the lowest Office in the Community ?

This might also in some Measure put a Stop to that unconstitutional Proceeding of obtaining early Promises of Votes ; and now, it may not be improper here to mention what the Moral Law has been at all Times, and in all Nations in Regard of Promises. Such Promises, (according to Tully, Sanders, Grotius, Puffendorf, and other Writers of this Law,) are not to be kept, as are *malum in se*, nor such as will but bring a Mischief on him they were made to ; no more are those which tend to the Damage of the Promiser himself, more than the Profit of him they were promised to : Again, if the Promise be against publick Utility ; or if it be extorted from a Man, by the unjust Means of either Fear, or Interest. And they further say, that they to whom such Promises are made, would be much to blame, should they complain of being disappointed. But as many persons who do not understand this Matter, may yet have Scruples, and as it has been said, that it might lead to introduce the Breach of Promise in other Matters not justifiable, would it not be better upon all Accounts, to reserve the Promise even to the very Hour of Election ?

To determine to be of any Junto, Cabal, or any *Party* whatsoever, or always on one Side,

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must disgrace and lessen you in the Consideration of all but the Mob. It promotes Sourness, Rage, and every violent Passion, and of Course destroys both Truth, and Judgment, be they on which Side they may. To attempt to justify, by that old, trite, political Maxim, *That the Party must Support itself at all Events*, may as well justify a gang of Robbers.---It aggravates the immorality of the Measure, and proves it a *Faction*.

So, constantly to oppose every measure, Right or Wrong, that Administration proposes, betrays the Incendiary, the Fool, or the Madman, or a compound of the two latter Characters, if such be possible; and to rejoice in fomenting Confusion, thereby defeating, or at least retarding even the ordinary Business of the Nation, betrays the Heart of a Fiend.

But should any such Proceeding be the effect of any Disappointment, or Displeasure, you would that instant lose all Candor and Character for ever; for every, even the meanest Idler in the Gallery knows, or at least pretends to know, the secret Springs of every Leader, or forward Actor in the House. It is true, where such a Person is possessed of an extraordinary brilliancy of Genius, or uncommon Abilities, from the Fascination of their powerful Charms, he too often bears down all who oppose, and for a time may so impose upon the Understanding, nay, the very Senses of the Vulgar, as to make Wrong appear Right, or the Day the Night, or the Reverse; whilst he who hath not these Advantages will but flounder in eternal Confusion, and be the Mark of Sport and Contempt.

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Not Sir, that I would be understood by any thing I have here urged that I would not have Opposition, where it is necessary; far be from me such a Thought! No, where ever it is proper, may a spirited and a vigorous one never be wanting, nor such as you be ever absent on the Occasion! not Neglecting this most Important Trust, or leaving it to the Yelpers of the Crafts I have mentioned, those Sham, Deceitful, Treacherous Guards who only bellow to be taken off, (as it is termed) and with the instinct of Rats would quit the Vessel the moment they conceived it to be in danger of Foundering.

And yet it must be allowed, nay cannot be denied, that our glorious Constitution has at times been preserved by the most abandoned of these Brawlers. " For (as Lord Bolinbroke wittily as sensibly expresses it) they are, until they are Purchased off the Centinels of the Day, and whilst the Loaves and Fishes remain, Successors will not be wanting, so let us cherish the Breed." But such an Occupation would ill become the great House to which you are the apparent Heir, and who, so long as you shall be uniform and steady in your Conduct in the great Assembly of the Nation, must ever be a leader of numbers on which soever side you engage, and your power, of course, be as respected, as it would be irresistible.

But shun my Lord, for ever shun the thirst of Popularity. It is a Vice the moment it is sought; and he who courts the Favour of the Populace, that instant surrenders his Freedom to whole Thousands of self-law'd absolute Tyrants, and can only hope for a Recovery of it, in an everlasting

Retirement, in which the Praises of the Crowd can never give a single comforting Reflection, as do the Commendations of the Wise and Virtuous, to glad the honest Heart.

Whether the present prevailing Mode of Corruption originated from Government, or from the People, or how, or when it began, is a Question would require a Discussion which would too much lengthen this Epistle, but as it has become an absolute established System, it remaineth only at present, to do the best that can be done, to prevent, as much as possible, its fatal Effects, still with an eye to every Opportunity which may offer for the Correction and Reformation thereof.

The last, yet by no Means the least essential Matter I presume to recommend to your Consideration is your Conduct to your Constituents, (at which I have before but slightly hinted;) they have (as I have before also mentioned,) freely and cheerfully honoured you with their Choice, and this without any previous required Test, or Promises as to your Conduct, with which many Candidates have been affronted, and in submiting thereto have affronted themselves, as they do also in the low Condescensions, and shameful Adulation they pay to the meanest of Wretches who happen to have Votes, which must render a Man ridiculous, and truly contemptible even in his own Eyes, and especially, if at other Times, he hath borne himself highly.

If then, it should ever be proposed to you, to vote for, or against a particular Measure; or to go

go at any Time pre-determined into the House, it would neither be Constitutional, Sensible, nor Honest to comply with such a Requisition.

Your Electors have a right at all times to inform and advise their Representatives; but upon any Constitutional Question, it is their duty to assemble in their respective Counties, Cities and Boroughs, to take the Sense of the Constituent Body thereon, and to convey that Sense to their Representatives by the way of Information, Advice and *Instructions*, and what their Wishes are, and as their chosen Representative, you are not only bound to receive, consider and deliberate with them thereon, but also yourself to consult them: but for a Candidate to enter into any Promises to them, either previous to, or after Election by which Deliberation shall be precluded; or to obey, blindly and implicitly their Dictatorial Commands, who are but a One Hundred and Fiftieth Part of the whole, and which may not only be inconsistent, but entirely militate with the Interest of that whole, and all this against the clearest Conviction of Judgment and Conscience, must render Parliament either an Assembly of Adyocates, who are at all Events to maintain the various, Jarring Interests of their respective Electors, and make it an eternal Scene of Altercation, Rage and Confusion; or to speak more properly a Collection of Voluntary Bondsmen and Slaves, or of Puppet Machines for the Crowd to Wire-pull as they should please. The instant the City of Dublin returned you as a Representative, you became a *Member of Parliament*, or in other Words a *Representative* of the *whole Nation*; and he only can be called a real Friend to his Country, who Supports, or Opposes a Mea-

a Measure on no other Grounds whatsoever, but its being beneficial, or hurtful to the General Interests of the Publick at large; Nay, should your Constituents have an Interest, or form an hasty Opinion evidently opposite to the real good of the rest of the Community, you should be as far as any other from any endeavour to give it effect. But if the Test required of a Candidate, should be nothing more than an Engagement to act with Integrity, and *do his Duty* in this high and honourable Trust, every honest Man should subscribe to it cheerfully. And thus Constituents in having first, they, and they only the Right and Power of *Election*, and then the liberty of informing and instructing (as I have mentioned) those they have chosen, have every Right and Power they can in reason expect; and therefore, if from Corruption or want of due Attention, they do not properly choose, they can only blame themselves for the Mischief.

And yet that such a Man as I have wished you to be, may err, there can be no doubt; but if even this should happen, after hearing every Thing that can be said on the Question, on the one Side and the Other, and using every possible Means for Information, unactuated by either Selfish Purposes, or Local Prejudices, his Error would be blameless; since it is that of his Judgment (which may happen to the best and wisest of Men) and therefore be excuseable. Even the Senate of Rome in the Meridian of its Glory might sometimes so have Erred.

To conclude, (as I before mentioned), the Eyes of Numbers will be on you, and as you have every Advantage you can wish for, in this World,

World, to enable you to be well qualified to fill the high and most important Post to which you have been called and chosen, as Birth, Dignity, large Possessions, &c. &c. their Expectations will be great. That you may most fully answer them, and equal all the Goodness and all the Greatness of your most noble Ancestors,

Is the sincere Wish of, &c.

NOTE.—This was first Published in the Year 1768, but is now Re-Published with several Alterations, Additions and Improvements upon the present very Interesting and most Important occasion.

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